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A Study in the Reading of Romance

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For my parents, Peter and Eunice Moore

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List of Abbreviations

ELH	*English Literary History*
ELN	*English Language Notes*
ELR	*English Literary Renaissance*
ESTC	*English Short-Title Catalogue*
HLQ	*Huntington Library Quarterly*
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
PQ	*Philological Quarterly*
RES	*Review of English Studies*

Editions of *Amadis*

Cacho Blecua	Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula*, ed. Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua (2nd edn), 2 vols (Madrid: Cátedra, 1991)
Munday	Anthony Munday, *Amadis de Gaule*, ed. Helen Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)
Rose	W. S. Rose, *Amadis de Gaul*, 3 vols (London, 1803)
Southey	Robert Southey, *Amadis of Gaul*, 4 vols (London, 1803)

1
Introduction

This is a book about readers: readers reading, and readers writing. They are readers of all ages and from all ages: young and old, male and female, from the sixteenth century to the twentieth, from Europe and the New World. The book they are reading is the Spanish chivalric romance, or *libro de caballerías*, called *Amadís de Gaula*. A memorable modern encounter with this book occurs in Gabriel García Márquez's 1994 novel, *Del amor y otros demonios*, where it takes on the character of 'un libro prohibido', rich with erotic and cultural desire and danger:

> Not saying a word, the physician placed before him a volume that he recognized as soon as he saw it. It was an old Sevillian edition of *The Four Books of Amadís of Gaul*. Delaura trembled as he inspected it, realizing he was on the verge of becoming unredeemable. At last he dared to say, 'Do you know that this is a forbidden book?'[1]

Famous throughout the sixteenth century as the pinnacle of chivalric romance, the cultural functions of *Amadís* were further elaborated by the publication of the first part of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* in 1605, in which it was given an entirely new role as Quixote's favourite book, thereby becoming, as the philosopher Ortega y Gasset terms it, 'enclosed' within the modern novel.[2] The book historian Leah Price observes that 'we have a special word for persons when they're represented in fiction ("character"), but none for represented books'—and thanks to Cervantes's book-mad knight, *Amadís* must be one of the most significant 'represented' books in literary history.[3]

A peninsular descendant of the medieval French prose romances of Lancelot and Tristan, the earliest version of *Amadís* was probably composed towards the end of the thirteenth century. Surviving fragments of this 'primitive' *Amadís* date from around 1420, but the version known to posterity has been the four-book revision by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, of which the earliest surviving edition

[1] Gabriel García Márquez, *Del amor y otros demonios* (Barcelona: Mondadori, 1994), 148; *Of Love and Other Demons*, trans. Edith Grossman (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996), 123.

[2] José Ortega y Gasset, *Meditations on Quixote* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), 137. Throughout this book, I use *Amadís* (*de Gaula*) when referring specifically to the Spanish original, and *Amadis* (*de Gaule*) when referring to the English and French versions, or to the tradition as a whole.

[3] Leah Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 49.

Amadis *in English: A Study in the Reading of Romance*. Helen Moore, Oxford University Press (2020). © Helen Moore.
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is dated 1508 (Figure 1.1). Raised in ignorance of his royal parentage, Amadís becomes a knight at the court of Lisuarte, King of Great Britain and falls in love with the Princess Oriana. The ensuing narrative interweaves many different modes of rhetorical virtuosity into its chivalric adventures, amorous encounters (typically conducted by Amadís's younger brother Galaor), and quests to exotic or magical locations such as the Ínsola Firme, of which Amadís becomes ruler. The Ínsola Firme is indicative of the amalgamation of medieval and modern in *Amadís* that was a significant element in its popularity and longevity and that is also, by extension, a recurrent theme of my study. Simultaneously a version of the earthly paradise and a nascently modern political entity that draws on Spanish encounters with the islands of the New World, the Ínsola Firme establishes and sustains Amadís's political and military legitimacy as he is drawn into conflict with Lisuarte over the proposed marriage of Oriana to the Emperor Patin.[4] Ultimately, dynastic harmony is restored and reconciliation effected by the re-emergence of Amadís and Oriana's son Esplandián, the hero of the fifth book of the cycle (a work original to Rodríguez de Montalvo).[5] *Amadís* has been described by Mario Vargas Llosa as early 'consumer literature', in which the writing, printing, and publishing of a work of fiction is driven by reader demand.[6] Certainly, by any measure *Amadís* was a bestseller, indeed the dominant work of early modern fiction across Europe until *Don Quixote* itself, of which it is both the inspiration and the literary target. The rapidly developing technology of the printing press and the expansion of the book business in Spain; royal and elite patronage coupled with the enthusiasm and wealth of urban readers; and the intervention of talented continuators in Spain, France, and Italy such as Feliciano de Silva, Jacques Gohorry, and Mambrino Roseo, all came together to provide the ideal conditions for a sixteenth-century publishing phenomenon that eventually ran to a cycle of twenty-four books and was translated into French, Italian, German, English, Dutch, and Hebrew.

The represented, book-character *Amadís* invoked by García Márquez in the quotation that opened this chapter is simultaneously this late medieval European book and its postcolonial reanimation, a twentieth-century Latin American idea of *Amadís* that is very similar in its cultural functioning to the idea of *Amadís* that centuries earlier haunted the pages of *Don Quixote*. As Quixote's favourite book, *Amadís de Gaula* is the cause of both his greatness and his delusion. The Cervantean and the postcolonial Latin American versions of *Amadís* both exert

[4] Simone Pinet identifies an 'insular turn' in early modern fiction and highlights the pre-eminent role of the 'Amadisian archipelago' in *Archipelagoes: Insular Fictions from Chivalric Romance to the Novel* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), pp. xxxiv, 81.

[5] For fuller plot details, see Synopsis.

[6] Mario Vargas Llosa, 'Secret Homages', *Times Literary Supplement* (26 July 1985), 815. The co-dependency of printing and the *libros de caballerías* is explored in José Manuel Lucía Megías, *Imprenta y libros de caballerías* (Madrid: Ollero y Ramos, 2000).

Figure 1.1. *Los quatro libros del virtuoso cavallero Amadís de Gaula* (1508), title page. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library © The British Library Board, C.20.e.6.

their force philosophically and rhetorically rather than materially: they are not versions of *Amadís* that were ever actually written—rather, they are *readings* of it. In both cases, it is the relationship between *Amadís* and the modern world (specifically, the novel) that is at issue, and in both cases *Amadís* functions as a rhetorical 'other' to modernity, primarily as it embodies the literary quality called in Spanish *inverosimilitud*. This idea is so tied up with the localized aesthetics of the *libros de caballerías* that it does not translate easily into English; 'improbability' is the standard translation, but in a literary context 'unrealism' is better, especially if it is understood as a confident and unapologetic declaration. *Inverosimilitud* is something other—something supra-real, something beyond the domestic and the knowable territory of the novel, something grander and more fabulous. *Inverosimilitud* is not native to English literature and literary aesthetics, but it is carried into the English tradition through the translating of *Amadís* and *Don Quixote*. It is a recurrent source of fascination for the readers, writers, translators, and editors I discuss here because it is intimately tied up with the definition of the novel (specifically in its relations with realism and romance), and hence with the literary transition from medieval to modern. Given the strength of the realist, Cervantean tradition in Britain, the quality of *inverosimilitud* tends to be yoked in English with verbs of loss or repudiation, as in the observation by Charles Jervas, eighteenth-century translator of *Don Quixote*, that with Cervantes's novel 'the illusion of ages was dissipated, the magic dissolved, and all the enchantment vanished like smoke'.[7] *Amadis* and its enchantments belong to the 'elder World' of pre-modern Europe, as Walt Whitman (himself a reader of *Amadis*) puts it, but like many other instances of the medieval it nevertheless remains integral to the definition of the modern. Indeed, Michael McKeon in *The Origins of the English Novel* highlights the 'humouring' of Don Quixote's belief in enchanters as an indicatively modern impulse that disenchants the world not by 'the eradication of enchantment but its transformation, its secularization'.[8]

The close association between *Amadis* and the 'disenchantments' ascribed to modernity means that my story begins at its end, and on the other side of the Atlantic from where most of it is going to be played out. Between the 1940s and the 1990s, the idea of *Amadís* was invoked repeatedly in the construction of Latin American literary identity, especially in the theorization and practice of *lo real maravilloso* ('the magical real') as a means of resisting the 'elder world' of colonial Spain and articulating a distinctively postcolonial Latin American literary identity. Although the concept of the magical real had surfaced intermittently in

[7] *The Life and Exploits of the ingenious gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha*, trans. Charles Jervas, 2 vols (London, 1742), vol. i, p. xxii.

[8] Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 282.

Europe since the Romantic period, notably in art criticism of the 1920s, this conspicuously Latin American version (*lo real maravilloso americano*) was expounded by the Cuban novelist Alejo Carpentier in an essay entitled 'On the Marvelous Real in America' (1949) and a lecture, 'The Baroque and the Marvelous Real' (1975).[9] Carpentier's view of this subject is robustly Latin American. It rejects European surrealism as 'manufactured' and instead celebrates the affinity between the role of the marvellous in the books of chivalry and Latin America itself:

> Our own marvelous real is encountered in its raw state, latent and omnipresent, in all that is Latin American. Here the strange is commonplace, and always was commonplace. The stories of knighthood were written in Europe but they were acted out in America because even though the adventures of Amadis of Gaul were written in Europe, it is Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who in *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* gives us the first authentic chivalric romance… Here we have the European man in contact with the American marvelous real.[10]

There is a precedent for all this: Bernal Díaz had himself famously reached into his imagination for *Amadís* as a way of comprehending the New World in *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* (begun in the 1550s but not published until 1632). The evocation of *Amadís* by Bernal Díaz to describe the city of Tenochtitlan signals its collective use by the colonists as a means of comprehending the commonplace strangenesses of Latin America. *Amadís* provided 'a solution to [Bernal Díaz's] search for a way to communicate', as Rolena Adorno puts it:[11]

> When we saw so many cities and towns built in the water, and other great towns on dry land, and that causeway so straight and level as it went to Mexico, we were amazed. We said it looked like the enchanted things they tell of in the book of Amadís… Some of our soldiers even asked if what we saw was not a dream,

[9] Alejo Carpentier, 'On the Marvelous Real in America' and 'The Baroque and the Marvelous Real', trans. and repr. in Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris (eds), *Magical Realism: Theory, History, Community* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 75–88 and 89–108 respectively. The text of 'On the Marvelous Real' is the extended 1967 version of the original prologue to Carpentier's novel *El reino de este mundo* (1949). The traditions of the Latin American magical real are surveyed in the early chapters of Christopher Warnes, *Magical Realism and the Postcolonial Novel: Between Faith and Irreverence* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) and Lois Parkinson Zamora takes up Carpentier's theme of the baroque in *The Inordinate Eye: New World Baroque and Latin American Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[10] Carpentier, 'The Baroque and the Marvelous Real', 104.

[11] Rolena Adorno, 'Introduction' to Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World* (1949; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), pp. ix–xl (at p. xxii).

> and it is not to be wondered at that I write here in this way, because there is so much to ponder that I do not know how to describe it[12]

The literary and art history invoked in Carpentier's twentieth-century version of the Latin American marvellous real may be somewhat adrift, as has been noted,[13] but the point lies in his observation that in both the books of chivalry and in Latin American life the strange and marvellous coexist with, and often shade into, the ordinary. Latin America itself is what Carpentier calls an 'experienced marvelous reality'[14] that is markedly unlike Europe in, for example, its 'disproportion' (huge rivers), a property that gives rise to García Márquez's fondness for 'narrative gigantism' such as rains that last for five years.[15] The distinctive feature of *lo real maravilloso americano* thus lies, as Fredric Jameson puts it, in 'a certain poetic transfiguration of the object world itself… a metamorphosis in perception and in things perceived'.[16] Poetic transfigurations, as any reader of *Don Quixote* knows, are the very stuff of which Iberian romance is made.

This marvellous connection, the atmospheric synonymity, between Latin America and *Amadís de Gaula*, was restated and extended in an article by the Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, published in the Argentinian magazine *Primera Plana* in April 1967.[17] Called 'Amadís in America', this essay allied the method and material of Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (1967) directly with that of the *libros de caballerías*, highlighting in particular their shared disregard for naturalism:

> In Macondo, as in the enchanted islands where Amadis, Tirant, the Knight Cifar, Esplandian and Florisel de Nisea [*sic*] rode and jousted, the flimsy barriers separating reality from unreality, the possible from the impossible, have been blown to bits. Anything could happen here: disproportion and excess are the daily norm, wonder and miracle the life-blood of the people's existence, as real and tangible as war and hunger.[18]

[12] Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, trans. Janet Burke and Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2012), 189. On Bernal Díaz's imitation of the chivalresque style, see Stephen Gilman, 'Bernal Díaz and *Amadís de Gaula*', in *Studia Philologica: Homenaje ofrecido a Dámaso Alonso por sus amigos y discípulos con occasión de su 60º Aniversario*, 3 vols (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1961), ii. 99–114.

[13] e.g. by Zamora, *The Inordinate Eye*, 125.

[14] Carpentier, 'On the Marvelous Real in America', 84.

[15] Gene H. Bell-Villada, *García Márquez: The Man and His Work* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 12.

[16] Fredric Jameson, 'On Magical Realism in Film', *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1986), 301–25.

[17] Gerald Martin, *Gabriel García Márquez: A Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), 316.

[18] Mario Vargas Llosa, 'Amadís in America', in Robert Fiddian (ed.), *García Márquez* (London: Longman, 1995), 56–62 (at 59); repr. from 'El Amadís in America', in Pedro Simón Martínez (ed.), *Sobre García Márquez* (Montevideo: Marcha, 1971), 106–11.

The embracing of an Amadisian/Latin American aesthetic of the marvellous in this essay is indicative of what Vargas Llosa later called the 'spirit of contradiction' that led him to read the books of chivalry in defiance of the lionization of Cervantes by the conservative Spanish literary and academic establishment.[19] The official line on *Don Quixote* was, and largely still is, that Cervantes 'dealt a fatal blow to the novels of chivalry with his ridicule', that henceforth 'novelists had to learn to constrain their imagination', 'to choose a real setting', 'to be modest and measured'.[20] But as is revealed in Vargas Llosa's ironic self-distancing from this view, and his comic-book characterization of García Márquez as a 'Colombian globetrotter' with a ready smile, that orthodoxy and its associated reification of realism was being overturned by a resurgent New World. García Márquez represents the young postcolonial novelist writing back, reanimating his medieval forebears and thereby compressing the literary hegemony of imperial Spain between the simultaneously exerted force of the old and the new. In Vargas Llosa's account, the colonial direction is reversed (a common postcolonial trope), as the Spanish conquistador is refigured into a nonchalant Latin American globetrotter on a literary mission to vanquish post-Cervantean realism; in this knowingly ironic faux-adventure, the author of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* 'sends four centuries of narrators' modesty packing' by aligning himself with 'those faceless medieval wizards' who wrote the *libros de caballerías*.[21]

Vargas Llosa is at pains to point out, however, that despite vindicating 'the slandered Amadis',[22] *One Hundred Years of Solitude* is a manifestation of essentially New World possibilities and characteristics that chime with, but are not ultimately, those of the Spanish books. In a formulation that practises its own kind of wizardry, Vargas Llosa captures this combination of postcolonial affinity and differentiation in his assertion that 'Colonel Aureliano Buendía is like Amadis, but is memorable because *he's not Amadis*'. The nature of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* as 'not Amadis' can be explained by the novel's essentially political signification, drawn from the 'exploitation in colonial America, and the injustice, the filth it creates': 'everything in it,' writes Vargas Llosa, 'not only events and scenes, but also symbols, visions, spells, omens and myths—is deeply rooted in the reality of Latin America'.[23]

The *Amadís* of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* is therefore implicit and politicized. By contrast, the *Amadís* that appears at the beginning of this chapter in the quotation from *Of Love and Other Demons* is explicit and bookish, realized with a bibliographer's attention to detail. Sandwiched between these two extreme types of book-presence is another version, the ironized, legendary *Amadís* of García Márquez's short story, 'The Incredible and Sad Story of Innocent Eréndira and her

[19] Vargas Llosa, 'Secret Homages', 815.
[20] Vargas Llosa, 'Amadís in America', 59.
[21] Vargas Llosa, 'Amadís in America', 59.
[22] Vargas Llosa, 'Amadís in America', 60.
[23] Vargas Llosa, 'Amadís in America', 60.

Heartless Grandmother' (1972). Described by Christopher Little as an 'allegory of exploitation', this story recounts the prostitution of Eréndira (i.e. Latin America) by her grotesque grandmother (glossed by Little as 'the gluttonous Spanish empire').[24] There are many references to, and inversions of, the tropes and expectations of myth and folklore in this story, not least in the fact that it ends with Eréndira in flight from her rescuer, the ironically named Ulises. Just as Ulises in appearance and role thwarts the Homeric expectations of his name, so too do the 'Amadises', the brawling, smuggling, and very dead husband and son of the grandmother, who bore the same name and whose ashes are carted around northern Colombia by the two women in a parodic inversion of chivalric itinerancy. The point of these dusty Amadises, as Little notes, is to deflate the pretensions of the Spanish empire: 'thus one of the most powerful figures in the romances of chivalry is rendered completely impotent'.[25]

In *Of Love and Other Demons*, however, *Amadís* is restored to potency, albeit of a kind unenvisaged by its original readers. The protagonist of this story is again a young girl, Sierva María, who like Eréndira embodies the strange agonies of a colonized Latin America, this time as a cultural hybrid, a *mestiza* child brought up by African slaves in a household of colonial decay. Perhaps rabid following a dog bite, rumoured to be possessed, but more likely just pressed beyond endurance by the cures and cruelties meted out to her, Sierva María attracts the attention of the Church, and is committed to a convent and the examination of Father Cayetano Delaura, who falls wildly in love with her. *Of Love and Other Demons* is set in the Colombian coastal city of Cartagena in the late eighteenth century and is unusual among the fictions of García Márquez for its historical and geographical specificity.[26] That specificity is also apparent in the depiction of the culture of books that unites Delaura and the physician Abrenuncio de Sa Pereira Cao, a learned, Latin-speaking Portuguese Jew with the remarkable library that houses the Sevillian *Amadís*. Delauro is the Bishop's librarian and before the encounter with Servia María he is in line for the post of Curator of the Sephardic Collection at the Vatican.[27] He 'knew life through books', believes his father to be descended from the Golden Age poet Garcilaso de la Vega, and is the only person with access to the cabinet of books condemned by the Inquisition that is kept in the Bishop's library (and from which a copy of *Amadís* had previously disappeared).[28]

Delaura and Abrenuncio are allied not only by their love of books but also by their scepticism concerning reports of Servia María's possession, and by their

[24] Christopher Little, '*Eréndira* in the Middle Ages: The Medievalness of Gabriel García Márquez', in Fiddian (ed.), *García Márquez*, 204–13 (at 207).

[25] Little, '*Eréndira* in the Middle Ages', 211.

[26] Zamora, *The Inordinate Eye*, 222.

[27] García Márquez, *Of Love and Other Demons*, 80. For the history of this real collection, see *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Catalogue*, ed. Binyamin Richler (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008).

[28] García Márquez, *Of Love and Other Demons*, 82, 85, 89, 123.

characterization as freethinkers, whether actual in the case of Abrenuncio or nascent in that of Delaura. The Sevillian copy of *Amadís* shown to Delaura by Abrenuncio embodies this connection and their shared dissidence. Despite the accuracy of the link with Seville, the resonances of this Latin American *Amadís* have been reformulated ahistorically in the designation of *Amadís* as 'prohibido', forbidden.[29] In actual fact, neither *Amadís* nor any other chivalry book was ever placed on the Church's Index of Forbidden Books (the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*) and the Inquisition was largely indifferent to them. The export to the New World of 'libros profanos' such as *Amadís* was banned by royal decree in 1531, although the reiterations of this ban in 1536 and 1543, and the many examples of chivalry books that made it across the Atlantic, prove a lack of enforcement. Clive Griffin has furthermore found numerous examples of romances being marked 'these are not prohibited works' by inspectors in shipping manifests headed for the New World.[30] García Márquez's elevation of *Amadís* to the rank of a prohibited book therefore invokes a specifically Latin American idea of *Amadís* as the forbidden fruit of the colonial era: an idea that is cognate with, but not equivalent to, the book's actual history. It is part of the long-standing Latin American view (forcefully articulated by Vargas Llosa amongst others) that the Inquisition was the tool of colonial repression exercised upon the literary imagination of the inhabitants of New Spain.[31]

The supposedly prohibited status of this book is not the only thing making the librarian tremble as he views it. *Amadís* turns out to be the mysterious, untitled, longed-for book lodged within Delaura's psyche that was removed from him at the age of 12 on his arrival at a seminary in Ávila.[32] That untitled book is locked away by the Rector as 'forbidden' and Delaura is never allowed to finish it. Delaura's suppressed longing for *Amadís* as a physical book serves in his youth as a prognostication, and here in maturity as an emblem, of his thwarted, unconsummated, forbidden love for Servia María. The postcolonial Latin American 'idea' of *Amadís* is thus a means not only of theorizing the Latin American

[29] The Cromberger printing family of Seville held the monopoly on the book trade with Mexico from 1525 and established the first printing press in the New World in Mexico in 1539. They were active printers of chivalry books, which comprise 7% of their recorded output (Leonard, *Books of the Brave*, 94–6 and Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville: The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 152–3).

[30] Leonard, *Books of the Brave*, 76, 81–3, and 138; Griffin, *Crombergers*, 74. The romantic comedy by Gil Vicente based on the episode of Amadís's exile on the Peña Pobre, however, was banned by the Inquisition in 1559 (*Tragicomedia de Amadís de Gaula*, ed. T. P. Waldron (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 47).

[31] Mario Vargas Llosa, 'Latin American Fiction and Reality', *Times Literary Supplement* (30 January 1987), 110–11 (at 110): 'The novel was forbidden in the Spanish Colonies by the Inquisition … We can only dream enviously of what kind of experience it was, in those times, in Spanish America, to read a novel: a sinful adventure in which, in order to abandon yourself to an imaginary world, you had to be prepared to face prison and humiliation'. On the historical background to this erroneous but understandable view and its political ramifications, see Leonard, *Books of the Brave*, 79–80.

[32] García Márquez, *Of Love and Other Demons*, 107–8.

real maravilloso, but also of resisting Spanish colonial authority and expressing a historic longing for the forbidden (independence).[33] In this it is remarkably like Latin American baroque, which Lois Parkinson Zamora describes as developing from 'a European colonizing instrument encoding Catholic and monarchical ideologies to an instrument of resistance to those same structures, and thus an instrument of postcolonial self-definition'.[34] The version of *Amadís* expounded by Carpentier, García Márquez, and Vargas Llosa draws from both European and Latin American culture, identifying fully with neither, but in that very aspect of 'not'-ness capturing the *mestizo* quality of Latin America that is fundamental to these novelists' conception of their continent and its relations with the European past.

*

This strange capacity of *Amadís* to capture the cultural 'not-ness' of the postcolonial moment is also fleetingly apparent in the displaced, quasi-exilic, Old World/New World transnationality of Paul Muldoon's autobiographical poem 'Yarrow', the centrepiece of the collection *Annals of Chile* published in 1994 (coincidentally the same year as *Of Love and Other Demons* appeared in Spanish). The Spanish *Amadís* is in no sense embedded in Muldoon's consciousness as it is for these Latin American writers, but in 'Yarrow' the early modern vogue for *Amadis* is briefly gathered up in the poem's voyage through Muldoon's own experience of growing up, displacement, and the voracious reading that accompanied it. Muldoon went to America in 1987, and from 1990 has been at Princeton; it was in that year that his historical poem *Madoc: A Mystery* was published, which imagines the outcome of the plan hatched by Southey and Coleridge to form a community based on their ideals of Pantisocracy in the New World.[35] Muldoon's title copies Southey's own *Madoc* (1805), itself an act of historical imagination and cultural dislocation that describes the arrival of the Welsh chieftain Madoc in America. Southey was fascinated by what would now be called transnational identity, and he was fervently interested in the history and literature of medieval and early modern Spain. In consequence, Southey provided the means by which *Amadis* was rediscovered by British writers in the Romantic period, through his influential translation *Amadis of Gaul* (1803), discussed in Chapter 7.

'Yarrow' is a famously, perhaps notoriously, bookish and self-referential poem, even by Muldoon's habitual standards of crumb-dropping allusion. Like García Márquez's 'Innocent Eréndira', it rejoices in disrupting and upturning the tropes

[33] Doris Sommer critiques the role of romance in the emergent Latin American novel and the 'Boom' generation that included Vargas Llosa and García Márquez in 'Irresistible Romance: The Foundational Fictions of Latin America', in Homi K. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990), 71–98 and Warnes, *Magical Realism*, formulates a category he terms 'postcolonial romance'.

[34] Zamora, *The Inordinate Eye*, p. xvi.

[35] Mark Storey, *Robert Southey: A Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 49–52.

of traditional chivalric and adventure narratives at the same time as it celebrates their hold on the author's imagination. The poet's excursions back into his youth are littered with Arthurian alter egos attributed to his friends and invocations of heroes such as Lancelot, Roland, and Gawain. The allusion to *Amadis* belongs, however, in the thread of political commentary that runs through the poem articulating Nationalist resistance to British rule through references to the British royal family. One instance of this invokes Oriana, the heroine of *Amadis*:

> Surely the time had come for the Irish to strike back
> at the *Defensor Fidei*, the peerless Oriana,
> by whose command Patrick Pearse and The O'Rahilly
> were put up against a wall? Was that not a *casus belli*?
> Put up against a wall, like this ortolan, or sora,
> and shot at the whim of Elizabloodybeth.[36]

Muldoon is fascinated by names, their significations, and their connection to identity, as Michael Robbins has shown in his analysis of what Muldoon when reading other poets calls 'cryptocurrents' of unacknowledged or unrealized meaning.[37] The (in)stability of a name, its connection to selfhood, and the conjoining of different historical identities it permits, is very much at issue in the Oriana reference here: is the referent Amadis's beloved, or Elizabeth I, who was called Oriana in madrigals, or Queen Anna, addressed in the same name by Ben Jonson (see Chapters 3 and 4) or Elizabeth II, or, given that none of these queens was on the throne during the Easter Rising of 1916 that is invoked by the naming of Patrick Pearse and Michael O'Rahilly, just 'Queen of England'? Or (and) is it Southey's Oriana, in a nodding self-allusion to *Madoc*?

The forging of such allusive, even crypto-, conjunctions as these is typical of the 'emigré' poetics identified by Jonathan Bolton in Muldoon's post-1987 work and in 'Yarrow' in particular, a poem that occupies 'the mid-Atlantic domain of a poet adrift between national boundaries and affinities' and that is full of 'ingenious temporal and spatial dislocations'.[38] The heterogeneous possibilities of 'Oriana' as used in this context are, like other moments of onomastic play in this poem, dislocating and disruptive of national and temporal boundaries. They also permit, even encourage, in the critic a Muldoonesque urge for association that may or may not illuminate 'Yarrow' 's own cryptocurrents. Muldoon's 'Elizabloodybeth' Oriana, knowingly or not, connects 'Yarrow' with another juxtaposition of Old and New Worlds, Walt Whitman's 'Song of the Exposition'.

[36] Paul Muldoon, *Poems 1968–1998* (London: Faber and Faber, 2001), 360.
[37] Michael Robbins, 'Paul Muldoon's Covert Operations', *Modern Philology* 109 (2011), 266–99.
[38] Jonathan Bolton, 'Irish Stew at the Café du Monde: Heterogeneity and the Emigré Experience in Paul Muldoon's "Yarrow"', *South Atlantic Review* 64 (1999), 48–71 (at 50 and 57).

This poem in praise of American industry and modernity was read at the opening of the fortieth National Industrial Exposition held in New York in September 1871, and published under the title 'After All, Not to Create Only' the same year. It appeared in the 1872 edition of *Leaves of Grass* and, in altered form, in the 1881 edition. (It gained its current title in 1876 and was used again that year at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.)

Like 'Yarrow', 'Song of the Exposition' is littered with names, in this case the names of the iconic 'Old World' sites and heroes whom the Muse is being commanded to abandon for the 'better, fresher, busier sphere' of the 'New World', to which she (dare one say, like Muldoon?) is an 'illustrious emigré'.[39] Agency, force, and vigour all reside with the New World in this poem; as the original title states, America's calling is 'not to create only' but 'to bring perhaps from afar what is already founded, | To give it our own identity' (ll. 4–6), to displace the 'torpid bulk' of Europe with America's 'vital religious fire' (l. 7). Whitman deploys the conventions of the heroic catalogue in this poem to derogatory, even arrogant effect: the listing of Old World glories works to their effacement rather than their celebration, as they are condemned to the 'charnel vault' (l. 51) of the world's literary past:

> Ended for aye the epics of Asia's, Europe's helmeted warriors
> . . . . . .
> Ended the stately rhythmus of Una and Oriana, ended the quest of the holy Graal,
> . . . . . .
> Amadis, Tancred, utterly gone, Charlemagne, Roland, Oliver gone,
> Palmerin, ogre, departed, vanish'd the turrets that Usk from its waters reflected,
> Arthur vanish'd with all his knights, Merlin and Lancelot and Galahad, all gone, dissolved utterly like an exhalation.
>
> (ll. 40–7)

In place of this 'embroider'd, dazzling, foreign world' the poet commends to the Muse a pugnaciously American, industrial, and modern celebration of 'sacred industry' (l. 78) and the labouring man and woman. Critically slighted for its unsubtle sense of occasion and overstatement, 'Song of the Exposition' nevertheless speaks right to the heart of modern discomfort about, and yet fascination

[39] Walt Whitman, 'Song of the Exposition', ll. 11, 21, and 54, in *Walt Whitman: Leaves of Grass and Other Writings*, ed. Michael Moon (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002). Gary Schmidgall explores the British dimension to Whitman's 'pose of transatlantic antipathy' (p. 3) in *Containing Multitudes: Walt Whitman and the British Literary Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

with, the modes of medieval and early modern romance. 'Away with old romance!' it cries, advocating instead 'the present and the real' (ll. 131 and 139).

Although cast as a decidedly New World sentiment, there is nevertheless a whiff of the Old, in the form of Cervantes, about this. At some point during his period of research and self-education after 1855, Whitman made detailed notes about *Amadís*, *Palmerín*, and Cervantes that were largely culled from his reading of George Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (first published in 1849, of which more in Chapter 8). Whitman embraced the prevailing view that the purpose of *Don Quixote* was 'to foil the fanaticism for romances of Chivalry, of the Amadis de Gaul type', as he put it in his notes.[40] He also read Southey's *Amadis*; his notes include a plot summary and his own observations as well as those of Southey and Ticknor. Whitman seems to have been most taken with the status of *Amadis* as 'the representative romance, and type book of fiction and sentiment, in Spain' and he notes its purpose as being 'to set forth the character of a *perfect knight*, founded on the virtues of courage and chastity'.[41] *Amadis* may have been part of the 'torpid bulk' of European culture, but thanks to Southey's translation Whitman was clearly well aware of its status as Spanish 'type book' in the development of European fiction. He was also aware of the established Cervantean trope of repudiating Amadis as a means of validating realism over fabulation.

These three case-studies are all in different ways indicative of the function of *Amadis* as literary fuel for New World or postcolonial writers in appropriating and rescribing the culture of the Old. There is, however, a notable gulf separating the responses of the English language poets from those of the Spanish-speaking novelists. For Muldoon as Irish poet and Whitman as American, the Renaissance and Romantic *Amadis* was never theirs: it belongs to a world of chivalric alterity which, in the action of being repudiated, enables the articulation of new personal and national identities. The Spanish *Amadís de Gaula*, on the other hand, has long been a part of the fabric of Latin America—indeed, perhaps shares some supra-literary affinity with the continent if Bernal Díaz and Carpentier are to be believed—and so it facilitates a relationship with the former colonial might of Spain that is more nuanced, more subversive, more mixed. *Amadís* belongs linguistically and culturally in Latin America in a different but no less powerful way than it does in Spain, and that fact of belonging enables García Márquez and Vargas Llosa to invoke its 'embroider'd, dazzling, foreign world' in transformative ways as they engage combatively with their colonial past and re-envision their countries' independent futures.

[40] *Notebooks and Unpublished Prose Manuscripts*, ed. Edward F. Grier, in *The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman*, ed. Gay Wilson Allen and Sculley Bradley, 6 vols (New York: New York University Press, 1984), v. 1874. Whitman's notes on *Amadis* are found on pp. 1868–71 and those on Cervantes on pp. 1872–4.

[41] *Notebooks and Unpublished Prose Manuscripts*, 1868, 1869.

'The Very Best of all the Books of this Kind'

The fame of *Amadís de Gaula* rests on the fact that it is the exemplary representative of the *libros de caballerías*, the genre that links the medieval prose romance with the emergent European novel of the seventeenth century.[42] Eloquently described by Vargas Llosa as 'rich in imagination and daring in structure', the *libros de caballerías* flourished in Spain from the late fifteenth to the late sixteenth century and were especially popular in the period of Charles V's reign (1517–55).[43] A *libro de caballerías* is typically structured around the biography of an exemplary knight, with many interwoven subplots detailing individual and collective combats (whether battles, tournaments, or the impromptu combat called the *paso*), love adventures, and encounters with exotic locations and phenomena, or with real British or Mediterranean locations that are recast in a marvellous guise. Honour, piety, and fidelity are the guiding virtues for a knight, but he is also expected to be adept in fine speaking and to move easily between the worlds of violence and civility. Intense scrutiny is applied to the virtues and vices of kings: they should be resistant to tyranny and flattery, alive to the dangers of civil discord, and resolutely just (many plots are driven by failures in these respects). The courtly and highly socialized context initiates an elaborated role for women, who figure not only as lovers or enchanters, but also as arbiters of taste and erotic virtue, resistant daughters, dispossessed rulers, and Amazon warriors. The action is profuse, reiterative, and agglomerating, often involving successive combats with opponents (typically described as giants) who display anti-courtly tendencies to arrogance or rapacity. The readership of these books was educated, wealthy or at least affluent, and located in or close to an urban centre; the romances were often dedicated to noble patrons and were printed as folio volumes, sometimes with woodcuts.[44]

In 1956, the discovery of fragments of a 'primitive' *Amadís* dated *c.*1420 shed considerable light on the long-contested origins of the romance. (The Romantic manifestations of this debate, which focused on the question of whether the romance was originally French, Portuguese, or Castilian, are discussed further in Chapter 7). The primitive *Amadís* consisted of three books and probably dated from the end of the thirteenth century, perhaps originating from the court of King Sancho IV of Castile who reigned 1284–95.[45] Proximity to royalty is also

[42] The quotation in the title of this section comes from Miguel de Cervantes, *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, trans. John Rutherford (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000), 53.

[43] Vargas Llosa, 'Secret Homages', 815 and Daniel Eisenberg, *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Golden Age* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1982), 40. See further Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).

[44] Eisenberg, *Romances of Chivalry*, 56–74 and 97.

[45] Daniel Eisenberg and María Carmen Marín Pina, *Bibliografía de los libros de caballerías castellanos* (Saragossa: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2000), 129–30; Antonio Rodríguez de Moñino, 'El primer manuscrito del *Amadís de Gaula*: Noticia bibliográfica', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*

found in the biography of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo (*c.*1450–*c.*1505), the redactor and author of the surviving version of the romance, who was *regidor* (alderman) of Medina del Campo, a provincial town that became a royal residence; Queen Isabella died there in 1504.[46] Rodríguez de Montalvo revised and rewrote the original three books, adding a fourth book and a continuation, *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (1510), that elaborates the deeds of Amadis and Oriana's son and moves the action away from the Arthurian geography of the original romance and into the racial, religious, and military flux of the eastern Mediterranean. Rodríguez de Montalvo's 'refundación' ('refounding') of the story is intensely engaged with the political and religious aspirations of late medieval Spain, and furthers these through a high level of rhetorical dignity. He makes extensive use of devices such as soliloquy, prophecy, letters, songs, and orations; commentators frequently remark on the high level of narratorial interventions on subjects such as wealth, power, fortune, love, and folly.[47]

One of the reasons for the success of the European *Amadis* lies in the skill with which it negotiates its neo-Arthurian matter across the boundaries of the medieval and early modern periods. Indeed, the disruption and conflation of temporal, textual, and geographical boundaries features strongly in Rodríguez de Montalvo's work from the start, as he claims in his prologue to book one that book four was discovered in a tomb near Constantinople and brought to Spain by a Hungarian merchant, and that his text has been 'corregido y enmendado' ('corrected and emended') from 'corruptos' ('corrupt') and 'mal compuestos' ('badly composed') originals in an antiquated style.[48] Thus he invokes the air of historicity that is typical of the *libros de caballerías* while expressing a characteristically, even playfully, modern sense of authorial agency, textual volatility, aesthetic innovation, and the dynamics of print culture. Harry Sieber has observed of *Amadís* that 'it is a constant and repetitious process of separation, confrontation, recognition and reconciliation',[49] and this contrastive dynamism can be seen in many aspects of the book—in its amorous and military plotting that separates the

36 (1956), 199–216; Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce, *'Amadís de Gaula': El primitivo y el de Montalvo* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1990), 64–100. The fragments, which are held in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley, are illustrated in the catalogue of the 2008–9 exhibition at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid: *Amadís de Gaula 1508: Quinientos Años de Libros de Caballerías* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España/Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2008), 80–92.

[46] Emilio J. Sales Dasí, '"Garci-Rodríguez de Montalvo, Regidor de la noble villa de Medina del Campo"', *Revista de Filología Española* 79 (1999), 123–58.

[47] See e.g. Frank Pierce, *Amadís de Gaula* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), 56–71.

[48] Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula*, ed. Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua (2nd edn), 2 vols (Madrid: Cátedra, 1991), i. 224–5.

[49] Harry Sieber, 'The Romance of Chivalry in Spain: From Rodríguez de Montalvo to Cervantes', in Kevin Brownlee and Marina Scordilis Brownlee (eds), *Romance: Generic Transformations from Chrétien de Troyes to Cervantes* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Dartmouth College, 1985), 203–19 (at 209).

lovers, reunites them in the rule of the Firm Island, and places Amadis on a path of open rebellion against the defective King Lisuart; in its conjoining of medieval and early modern sources of wonder such as the monstrous Endriago and the elegant Palace of Apolidon; in its fascination with the recognition of sameness amidst military and religious confrontations; and in its intensely focused interest in the development of a multifaceted male self, adept in the arts of war and government, yet solitary, lyrical, and melancholy, as shown in Amadis's self-separated persona of Beltenebros (in English, the 'Fair Forlorn'), adopted following repudiation by a jealous Oriana and his retreat into contemplation on the Peña Pobre ('Poor Rock' in English).

This episode of the Peña Pobre gave rise to Don Quixote's imitative bout of melancholy in the Sierra Morena—memorably undertaken to exceed even Amadis by being 'insane without a cause'—and it was thus one of the romance's most influential incidents.[50] Similarly well known was the Ínsola Firme (Firm Island), of which Amadis wins the lordship via the marvel of the 'Arco de los leales amadores' (Arch of Loyal Lovers), an updated version of the chastity-test motif of ancient Greek romance. Legitimizing political rule through a test of amorous virtue and fidelity, the Arch of Loyal Lovers is achieved jointly by Amadis and Oriana in Book Two. Like the magic that governs all the island's marvels, it is strategically invested in utopian values of community and mutuality,[51] and it is the inspiration for Sancho Panza's preoccupation with island governorship in *Don Quixote*. The third aspect of *Amadís* to achieve widespread cultural resonance was the diverse and dramatic role played by its enchanters, notably the malevolent Arcaláus and the enigmatic Urganda la Desconocida (Urganda the Unknown); it is these archetypes of the early modern magus that underpin Don Quixote's belief in the agency of enchantment.

When Fredric Jameson declared that 'texts come before us as the always-already-read; we apprehend them through sedimented layers of previous interpretations' he could almost, therefore, have been speaking of *Amadís* directly.[52] Its longevity and status as the palimpsest upon which *Don Quixote* was written ensure not only that its reading history is richly 'sedimented', but also that it stands as the archetypally 'already-read' text of the modern era in a uniquely specific sense. This is a phenomenon I will characterize in this book as 'removed' reading, by which is meant an encounter with the matter, preoccupations, and verbal texture of one text (*Amadís*) through another that is intricately invested in it (*Don Quixote*), such that one obtains a level of familiarity, whether perceived or

[50] *Don Quixote*, trans. Rutherford, 208.

[51] Michael Harney, 'Economy and Utopia in the Medieval Hispanic Chivalric Romance', *Hispanic Review* 62 (1994), 381–403 (at 395).

[52] Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (1981; London: Routledge, 2002), pp. ix–x.

not, that falls within the broad category of 'reading'.[53] Although *Don Quixote* has often been called the book that 'smiled Spain's Chivalry away', as Byron claimed, its relationship to the *libros de caballerías* is now recognized as subtle, self-reflective, and even 'complicit': Anthony Close, for example, uses the term 'empathetic parody' to capture the uniqueness of Cervantes's method, noting the 'internal and complicit relationship to its target'.[54] Jorge Luis Borges writes in similar terms, describing *Quixote* as 'less an antidote for those fictions than it is a secret, nostalgic farewell'.[55] Gérard Genette characterizes the relationship between the two books as one of 'folie romanesque' ('romantic delusion'), 'a kind of hypertextual transformer'.[56]

The central premise of *Don Quixote* rests on the power of reading (Figure 1.2). Its starting point is that the 'relish and enthusiasm' generated by absorptive reading has 'withered' Quixada/Quixano's brain and possessed his imagination to the extent that the 'famous fabrications' of the books of chivalry are taken as real.[57] More than this, Quixada's madness breaks down the barriers not only between fiction and reality, but also between his own being and that of literary creations, notably Amadis, such that he determines to become a knight errant and renames himself; the exceptional and unique nature of this is highlighted as 'the strangest notion that ever took shape in a madman's head'.[58] Cervantes is characteristically playful about Quixada's motivations, initially suggesting it is for 'his honour and for the common good' before revealing that ultimately it is a motivated choice designed to continue and extend into unique territory the pleasures of reading: 'so possessed by these delightful thoughts and carried away by the strange pleasure that he derived from them, he hastened to put into practice what he so desired'.[59] This is key to explaining why Quixote persists in his behaviour despite the cruelties and setbacks he experiences: the 'strange pleasure' (*extraño gusto*) of being both reader and actant, a participant in one's own imagination, is so desirable that argument, deprivation, injury, and mockery cannot prevail against it.[60] *Don Quixote* is a hymn to reading and the pleasures of the imagination, as well as

[53] On the intricacies of this relationship, see Howard Mancing, *The Chivalric World of Don Quijote: Style, Structure and Narrative Technique* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1982) and Edwin Williamson, *The Halfway House of Fiction: 'Don Quixote' and Arthurian Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

[54] *Don Juan*, canto XIII, stanza 11, in Lord Byron, *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Jerome J. McGann, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980–93), v. 528 and Anthony Close, *A Companion to 'Don Quixote'* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), 53.

[55] Jorge Luis Borges, 'Partial Magic in the *Quixote*', in *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*, ed. Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby (1970; London: Penguin, 2000), 229.

[56] Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 150–1.

[57] *Don Quixote*, trans. Rutherford, 26, 27.

[58] *Don Quixote*, trans. Rutherford, 27.

[59] *Don Quixote*, trans. Rutherford, 27.

[60] Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Francisco Rico (2004; Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2015), 31.

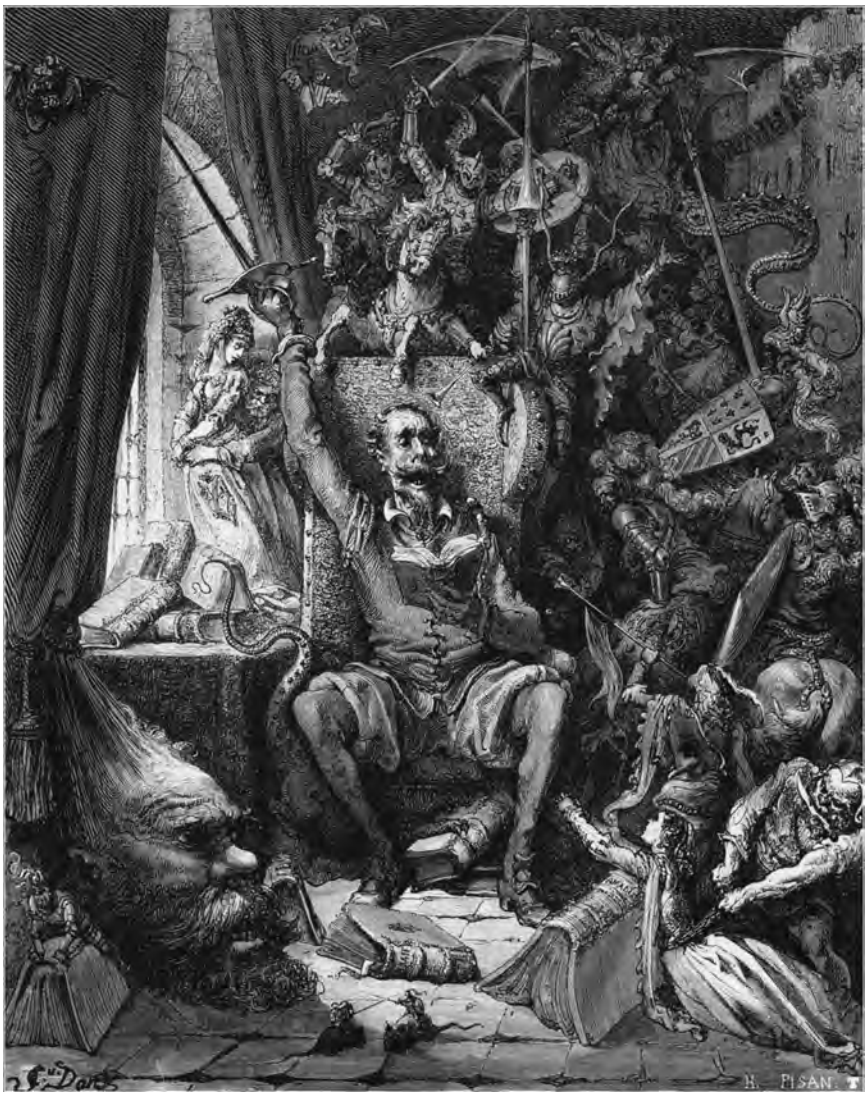

Figure 1.2. Gustav Doré, 'A world of disorderly notions, picked out of his books, crowded into his imagination', from *Don Quichotte* (1863). The Picture Art Collection/Alamy Stock Photo.

a satire upon them: it is an experiment in the unattainable but deeply desirable fantasy of fully absorptive reading.

Cervantes chose his palimpsest well. In their own time and in later centuries the *libros de caballerías* stand at the heart of the debate about the coexistence of the true and the feigned in prose narrative: the primary complaint against them

voiced by the priest and the barber as they purge Don Quixote's library in part I, chapter 6, that they lack verisimilitude, is a charge common to many assaults on fiction that are motivated by a 'distrust of poetic distortions'.[61] But as the canon later acknowledges in his critique of chivalric fiction (pt I, ch. 47), their abundant variety 'provided subject matter with which a good intelligence could express itself, because they made available a broad and spacious canvas on which the pen could wander unhindered'; that 'unhindered' pen could thus explore, in many different contexts, questions of encyclopedic range, such as exemplary behaviour, eloquent oration, the interplay of tragedy and comedy, even cosmography, music, and politics.[62] Hence much of Cervantes's own playfulness in handling questions of truth and feigning (for example his invention of the pseudo-author Cide Hamete Benengali) is indebted to literary techniques he learned from his predecessors, and is a continuation of Rodríguez de Montalvo's discussion in the *Amadís* prologue of the true ('verdadero') and feigned ('fingido') in historical narrative.[63] This is the heart of the matter in Foucault's analysis of Don Quixote's sane madness, and it explains why any reading of *Don Quixote* is also a reading of *Amadis*. Cervantes has upturned the conventional relationship of signs to reality, Foucault points out, such that Don Quixote 'reads the world in order to prove his books'.[64] The impossibilities of chivalric fiction are mentioned many, many times in *Don Quixote*, but Cervantes is fully aware that none of them comes close to the impossibility of this fantasy.

This 'strange pleasure' of being an all-powerful reader who can remake the world in the image of his books is manifested throughout the novel, particularly in the first part. The prefatory poems indulge it by showing a succession of eminent figures from the *libros de caballerías* including Amadis, Oriana, and the enchantress Urganda, abasing themselves before this pre-eminent reader-actant and acknowledging his superiority: 'I'd love, O Quixote, to be in your place' declares Don Belianis.[65] As the novel progresses, however, the impossibility of collapsing the boundary between the real and the fictional increasingly imposes itself, so that Quixote's imaginative situation comes to resemble the physical torment he experiences hanging by one hand from a hay-loft door like 'those who are tortured on the pulley and left with their toes similarly brushing the floor, and who increase their own agony in the determination to stretch, deluding themselves with the hope that by stretching just a little further they'll make it to

[61] E. C. Riley, *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 9.
[62] *Don Quixote*, trans. Rutherford, 441.
[63] *Amadís*, ed. Cacho Blecua, i. 220; see further James Donald Fogelquist, *El Amadís y el género de la historia fingida* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1982).
[64] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1966; London: Routledge, 2002), 52.
[65] *Don Quixote*, trans. Rutherford, 21.

the ground'.[66] The novel's self-ironic yearning after an impossible species of readerliness continues right up to Quixote's deathbed renunciation of the books of chivalry. His final *desengaño* (state of disillusionment, embracing of reality) is full of conventional pieties but is counterpointed by Sancho Panza's resonant cry of pain and protest that the strange pleasures of this adventure are finally over: 'Oh no, don't die, master!…Come on, don't be lazy, get out of that bed of yours, and let's go off into the countryside dressed as shepherds as we said we would.'[67]

Amadis in English

In the transition from an Iberian to a pan-European genre, the *libros de caballerías* are shorn of many of their peninsular characteristics. In particular, the intensely Catholic and Reconquest mentality of Rodríguez de Montalvo was stripped out of the *Amadís* cycle on its arrival in France, displaced by an overriding concern with the exercising of eloquence and the promotion of the specific interests of the Valois court, such as the arts, Neoplatonic love, and courtly ceremony.[68] Nicolas de Herberay was the translator of eight books of the Spanish cycle between 1540 and 1548, and it was in this French form that most English readers knew their *Amadis*. Herberay's first book was translated into English by Anthony Munday and published in 1590; by 1619 the first five books of *Amadis* were available to English readers. After book five the numbering of the Spanish and French cycles diverges, with the English tradition following that of the French. Book six in the French cycle was translated by Francis Kirkman in 1652, and the French book 7 appeared anonymously in 1693 and 1694. Although the later books of the French cycle, particularly the pastoral books 9 and 11, were known to some early readers such as Sidney and Spenser,[69] by and large English acquaintance with the matter of *Amadis* derives from the core four-book plot and subsequent English translations return to this material. An abridgement by John Shirley was published in 1702, and in 1803 there appeared the versions in prose by Robert Southey (*Amadis of Gaul*) and verse by W. S. Rose (*Amadis de Gaul*).

[66] *Don Quixote*, trans. Rutherford, 410.

[67] *Don Quixote*, trans. Rutherford, 979.

[68] Luce Guillerm, *Sujet de l'écriture et traduction autour de 1540* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1988) and Marian Rothstein, *Reading in the Renaissance: 'Amadis de Gaule' and the Lessons of Memory* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1999).

[69] John J. O'Connor, *Amadis de Gaule and Its Influence on Elizabethan Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970) includes much detail on the later books of the French cycle.

Southey's version was abridged (and bowdlerized) for children by Norman Davidson (1911) and by S. R. Littlewood in 1915.

In Chapter 2, 'Receiving Romance', I explain the methodologies of the history of reading that I have employed and analyse strategies of reading romance in different historical periods and social contexts. The political and cultural conditions that determined Anglo-Spanish relations across the relevant centuries are outlined, and their implications for the reading of romance explored. Chapter 3 addresses the Tudor period, during which *Amadis* was both applauded as the reading of 'mighty potentates' and condemned as a 'wanton' book, full of extreme fabulations. This dichotomy structures the chapter, which begins by examining *Amadis* as the favourite book of the Spanish and French courts, lauded as a repository of eloquence and a book of fine love, and even appearing in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (1528). The Continental admiration for the romance of *Amadis* was accompanied, however, by disquiet about potentially pernicious elements of the *libros de caballerías*, especially their amorous and fabulous matter.

The seventeenth-century *Amadis* is considered in Chapters 4 and 5. I begin Chapter 4 by discussing the continued currency of *Amadis* in Jacobean culture, particularly its associations with Ovid and with Sidney's *Arcadia* as 'arts of the heart'; this function underpins its role in plays by Jacobean and Caroline dramatists such as Jonson, Dekker, Massinger, Beaumont, Shirley, Brome, and Davenant. The rest of the chapter considers the theme of 'ravery' that links *Amadis* and *Don Quixote*, drawing examples from the satirical modes in which this topic is played out. The title of Chapter 5, 'The Homer of Romancy-Writers', quotes the designation given to *Amadis* by Margaret Cavendish in 1671, signalling the return to prominence in the later seventeenth century of *Amadis*'s relationship to French, rather than Spanish, literary culture. The popularity of *Don Quixote*'s 'witty abusing' of chivalric romance is tempered from the 1650s onwards by the importation of heroic romance from French into English and the development of 'serious' romance which defines itself in opposition to its peninsular forebears despite being derived from them. *Amadis* became part of the Restoration refashioning of antebellum literary culture, illuminated by English writers' experience of exile in France and the Low Countries. After the Restoration, *Amadis* continued to be a popular reference point in comedies, as the archetypal text of 'amour and adventure' and a window onto the lost world of Caroline theatre. Behn's *Luckey Chance* (1686) and Farquhar's *The Inconstant* (1702) are representative of this refashioning of the literary past, while D'Urfey's *Don Quixote* plays of the 1690s look back to Jacobean stage satire and anticipate the continued intertwining of the fortunes of *Amadis* with those of Cervantes's novel in the eighteenth century.

The reception of *Amadis* changes in the eighteenth century, the subject of Chapter 6, with an opera (Handel's *Amadigi di Gaula* (1715)) and a play (George

Granville's *The British Enchanters* (1706)) presenting the romance for theatrical consumption and emphasizing its overt spectacularism in what I term a revivified Amadisian aesthetic. In a parallel development, *Amadis* was mined by Shakespearean editors, Hispanists, and literary historians such as Isaac Reed, John Bowle, and Thomas Warton as indicative of early modern taste and a means of elucidating the works of Cervantes and Shakespeare. This chapter therefore recreates the scholarly community that encountered *Amadis* anew and began to read it as part of the medieval literary heritage of Europe. The chapter closes with an account of what I call the 'spectral' relationship of *Amadis* to early Gothic fiction. I demonstrate that the 'ancient romances' invoked in the preface to the second edition of Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1765) are none other than the *libros de caballerías*, and show how Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) takes the traditions of peninsular 'fancy' in an entirely new direction.

In 1803 two new translations of *Amadis* were published—one from the French, by W. S. Rose, and one from the Spanish, by Robert Southey, and these are the primary subject of Chapter 7, 'The Genius of Old Romance: *Amadis* and British Romanticism'. It was through Southey's editions of *Amadis* and *Palmerin* (1807), another Spanish romance, that Keats, Coleridge, Mary Shelley, and Hazlitt gained their knowledge of the genre. This chapter undertakes the first detailed consideration of Southey's *Amadis* and demonstrates that it was heavily dependent upon Anthony Munday's translation, to an extent not perceived at the time by the critics who praised Southey's seemingly authentic Elizabethan diction. The translations of Southey and Rose were treated to a detailed assessment by Sir Walter Scott in the *Edinburgh Review* (1803) and exerted a considerable influence on Scott's knowledge of medieval literary history and on his novels. The central themes of this chapter are the Romantic preoccupation with the medieval and Elizabethan periods, historical authenticity, and the recreation of the literary past.

Chapter 8, 'Coda: Crocodile and Catawampus', takes its cue from the debate on fiction conducted in Victorian periodicals, in which realism is characterized as a crocodile and romance as a monster or 'catawampus'. I consider the fortunes of *Amadis* against the backdrop of nineteenth- and twentieth-century thinking on what the novel was, or should be; how it had developed; and where its future direction lay. For the literary historians of this period, *Amadis* constituted a bridge between the newly constructed 'medieval' and the emergent 'modern': in the articulation of this division, ideas of Spain and its literary culture (as propounded by the Swiss economist Sismondi or the American Hispanist George Ticknor) proved highly influential. Philosopher-theorists (Bakhtin) and novelists (Nabokov) alike continued to be fascinated by the relationship of *Amadis* to *Don Quixote*, especially the functioning of the former as 'enclosed' (Ortega y Gasset) within the latter. After this discussion of *Amadis* and theories of the novel, the

second half of the chapter considers the role played by *Amadis* in the critique of modern masculinity undertaken in the novels of Bulwer Lytton, Ouida, and Thackeray. The chapter closes with a discussion of how *Amadis* transitioned into children's literature in the form of chivalric compilations and abridgements, and considers how this concluding transformation is emblematic of the many varieties of cultural work into which romance can be enlisted.

2
Receiving Romance

In this book I describe, explain, and interpret historically the individual and collective encounters with *Amadis* of many different readers and writers, preserving the uniqueness of individual reading practices whilst analysing the broader cultural uses to which reading romance can be put.[1] The kind of reception I discuss here belongs in the field of book history rather than reader-response, and my subjects are what historians of reading call 'real' readers. Every aspect of what Robert Darnton first called the 'communications circuit' is discussed at some point here: authors, publishers, printers, readers, and reviewers all feature, with the addition of other types not specified by Darnton, but who also participate in this circuit, such as collectors, artists, and librettists.[2] The readerships for *Amadis* in English are both historically situated and surprisingly consistent over time: a recurrent group, for example, is that of learned men and women who are drawn to the romance as a window upon the pre-novelistic world. So the antiquarians of the eighteenth century who read *Amadis* as part of their attempt to reconstruct the quixotic library are succeeded by Romantic poets drawn to *Amadis* as indicative of medieval authenticity, who are in turn followed by Victorian critics labouring to write the history of fiction. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries *Amadis* was widely read by readers of all social strata and both genders as the best of the pre-quixotic fictions; a particular strength was the expansiveness of its matter, which included heroic action, imitable sentiment, and spectacular locations and incidents. It was an authority on love, cited throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries alongside Ovid and Sidney as indicative of 'the art of the heart'. The standing of *Amadis* as both amorous and mighty was often noted and is in large part attributable to its rhetorical force and range, a product of the combination of Rodríguez de Montalvo's dignified and sententious Spanish with the courtly elegance of Herberay's French translation.

Amadis has always formed part of the literary 'lumber room', as Virginia Woolf would call it, of real historical readers from all backgrounds, and it has been

[1] On individual reading practices *versus* interpretative communities, see James Raven, 'New Reading Histories, Print Culture and the Identification of Change: The Case of Eighteenth-Century England', *Social History* 23 (1998), 268–87.

[2] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus* 111 (1982), 65–83 (at 68) and ' "What is the History of Books?" Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History* 4 (2007), 495–508.

Amadis *in English: A Study in the Reading of Romance*. Helen Moore, Oxford University Press (2020). © Helen Moore.
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dusted off remarkably frequently, as this book demonstrates.[3] It has, however, languished for too long in the critical lumber room of English studies, partly for reasons of its length, partly as a result of its origins in Spain and France, and partly because of long-standing misconceptions as to the cultural reach and longevity of romance-reading and its relationship to novel-reading. As this study shows, romance was certainly not vanquished by the supposed 'rise' of the novel, but rather continued alongside and engaged dynamically and transformatively with it (although this was not necessarily because romance is simply an earlier form of a historically continuous novelistic genre, as Margaret Anne Doody proposes[4]). As Northrop Frye once put it, the fact that romance is older than the novel has produced 'the historical illusion that it is something to be outgrown, a juvenile and undeveloped form', and Frye himself certainly perpetuated such an illusion in, for example, describing the novel as 'a realistic displacement of romance'.[5] But recent research on the interface of romance and novel in the seventeenth century has overturned this long-standing illusion of rise and displacement, pointing out that many characteristics associated with the novel such as empathetic reading and realism are also to be found in romance, and that the relationship between novel and romance is better characterized as one of 'sibling rivalry or monstrous twinship'.[6] In the case of *Amadis*, one can go even further and acknowledge romance as 'enclosed' within the novel, via *Don Quixote*.[7]

My intention in writing this book has been not only to investigate the cultural force and significations of *Amadis* in English, and the perpetuation of romance-reading in Britain despite the claimed 'disenchantments' of the novel, but also from an interdisciplinary angle to assert afresh the long-standing importance of English literature's relationship with France and Spain.[8] In the sixteenth century, most readers would have construed *Amadis* as French thanks to the celebrated translation by Herberay. Only with the fashion for *Don Quixote* in English would *Amadis* have been widely perceived as Spanish, although its French character persists in seventeenth-century comparisons with the heroic romance. As a result of its post-*Quixote* fame, for example, *Amadis* enjoys a period of popularity during the Restoration as a marker of place-realism in plays set in Spain, and in the

[3] From *The Common Reader* (1925), in *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, ed. Andrew McNeillie and Stuart Nelson Clark, 6 vols. (London: Hogarth Press, 1986–2011), iv. 53–61. By this metaphor, Woolf intends those works that were widely known in their own time but seem alien to and are forgotten by modern culture.

[4] Margaret Anne Doody, *The True Story of the Novel* (London: Harper Collins, 1997).

[5] Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (1957; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), 306.

[6] James Grantham Turner, '"Romance" and the Novel in Restoration England', *RES* 63 (2011), 58–85 (at 58).

[7] José Ortega y Gasset, *Meditations on Quixote* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), 137.

[8] On disenchantment, see Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), ch. 7.

eighteenth century the Iberian origins of much early fiction were revealed by Shakespearean source-hunters.

When *Amadis* first arrived in England in the mid-sixteenth century (albeit in French guise), relations with the Iberian peninsula were rooted in centuries of dynastic marriages and alliances between the royal families of England, Portugal, and Castile. Situated at the western and southern margins of Christendom, medieval England and Iberia were also linked by a shared chivalric culture given its strongest articulation in the transnational success enjoyed by Ramon Llull's Catalan chivalric manual, *El Libre del ordre de cavayleria*, translated into Middle Scots in 1456 and then into English by Caxton as *The Boke of the Ordre of Chyualry* (1483).[9] The sixteenth century maintained the tradition of Anglo-Iberian marriages with those of Catherine of Aragon in 1501 to Prince Arthur and then in 1509 to his brother Henry, followed by the marriage of her own daughter Mary to Philip II of Spain in 1554. However, imperial competition and religious antipathy through the second half of the sixteenth century replaced centuries of alliances with outright war, both physical and propagandist, during the reign of Elizabeth I.[10] The 'Black Legend' (*leyenda negra*) is a term coined in 1914 to describe the characterization of Spain by its Dutch, French, and English rivals as inherently covetous, cruel, proud, and tyrannical. Combining criticism from within Spain about the atrocities committed in the New World (as articulated famously by Las Casas in his *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (pub. 1552)) with details of Spanish repression in the Low Countries and an obsession with Spanish gold, this kind of 'blackness' provides the metaphorical dimension to the Black Legend. Accompanying it, was a racialized discourse of Spain as 'black' by dint of its ethnic and religious past, implying racial mixing between Muslim, Jew, and Christian. The conflation of metaphorical and religio-racial 'blacknesses' gave rise to the abusing of Spain as 'this demie Moore, demie Jew, yea demie Saracine' in the French pamphlet translated into English as *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard* in 1590 by Anthony Munday, also the translator of *Amadis*.[11]

[9] María Bullón-Fernández (ed.), *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th–15th Century: Cultural, Literary, and Political Exchanges* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); on the chivalric cultural links, see Jennifer Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration 1298–1630* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 195–7 for Llull.

[10] For the imperial and religious dimensions, see Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c.1500–c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Jonathan Hart, *Representing the New World: The English and French Uses of the Example of Spain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). On the war with Spain, see R. B. Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War Against Spain, 1595–1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); and James McDermott, *A Necessary Quarrel: England and the Spanish Armada* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

[11] *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard* (London, 1590), sig. B2^{r}. See William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558–1660* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1971) and Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (eds), *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance*

As recent books by Eric Griffin and Barbara Fuchs have emphasized, however, the strident 'Hispanophobia' frequently seen in early modern English culture coexisted, particularly after the cessation of hostilities in 1604, with a more deeply rooted and thoughtful 'Hispanophilia' that drew on the long-standing dynastic and cultural connections between England and Iberia.[12] This 'sustained fascination with Spanish matter' as Fuchs puts it, was manifested in non-literary areas such as the translation of military manuals as well as in fiction and the drama. Fuchs metaphorizes this process as a strategic, even pugnacious cultural 'taking from' Spain, a form of cultural buccaneering.[13] In addition, new work in Spanish archives has generated revealing evidence of a far more nuanced cultural relationship between England and Spain than is typically proclaimed in the conventional narrative of opposition focused upon the wars of the 1580s and 1590s. From this archival work has emerged a strong sense of the intimacy, equality, and complexity of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations as manifested in the dynastic marriages of Henry VIII with Catherine of Aragon and Mary Tudor with Philip II of Spain, as well as in the Jacobean negotiations (both political and cultural) with Spain that produced the peace of 1604 and the (albeit failed) Spanish match of the 1620s.[14]

Familiarity with Spanish in the early modern period was therefore both a political necessity and a cultural/economic advantage. Men involved in diplomacy and trade were likely to be able to read and speak some Spanish; this task was greatly helped by the publication of John Minsheu's *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599, reissued 1623), which was overtly addressed to language-learners and included directions on pronunciation. Elizabeth I knew Spanish, and her chief statesman William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, was a notable sponsor of Spanish-language study (for the purposes of counter-espionage) and an avid collector of Spanish books; his son Robert could speak Spanish.[15] The Sidney–Herbert families, despite their identification with the anti-Spanish, Protestant faction at court, sustained a long-standing interest in Spanish language and literature and

Empires (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007). Spanish perspectives on the English, including Sir Frances Drake and the Earl of Essex, are examined in Anne J. Cruz (ed.), *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554–1604* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

[12] Eric J. Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009) and Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

[13] Fuchs, *Poetics of Piracy*, 4.

[14] Giles Tremlett, *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Queen* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010); Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Alexander Samson, 'A Fine Romance: Anglo-Spanish Relations in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39 (2009), 65–94; Paul C. Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598–1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 115–40; Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

[15] Gustav Ungerer, *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature* (Bern: Francke, 1956), 44, 48–55, and 171.